131 /6 cont./
101 conclude that these Indians are by preference dwellers on the savannas and not forest dwellers.

114 I copy, because they are absolutely in conformity with my
● 361 observations, Dr. Simpson's words: "An Indian requires three things for his home: (1) an open space, a savanna of greater or lesser area, for his dwelling; (2) a perpetual stream of water, sufficiently wide and deep so that he can swim and fish or, at least, which will provide a supply of water all year; (3) a forest on the edge of which he can grow crops and have wood available and, secondarily, where he can hunt."

131 12. The Gran Sabana is located "between the parallels 4° 34' and 6° 45' north longitude /sic/ and the meridians 60° 34' and 62° 50' west of Greenwich." The Gran Sabana is thus located in the most southeastern corner of Bolivar State and of Venezuela, in that part where Venezuela touches Brazil and British Guiana.

133 The Gran Sabana is shaped like an immense open fan, the ribs of which would be the several rivers that form the Caroní, which is the central rib or vein of this entire great river valley or hydrographic basin.

132 13. In general, the climate of the Gran Sabana, despite
133 its proximity to the tropic is temperate; this is due to the altitude above sea level and the high mountains which surround it.

131 14. The area of the Gran Sabana is approximately 35,000 square kilometers.

133 15. The principal mountain ranges, which surround this almost virgin district and which give it an aspect of majesty and grandiosity beyond imagination, are: Roroima, Iru-tepui, Putari-t, Lema (Ilotoyeukurú, Tukui-ouki-yén, Morochipán), Aparamán, Auyán, Aprada, Apakará, Chimaté, Tirepón, Churí, Akopán, Uekpuimá, Katurán, and Uei-tepui. Of lesser importance are Apaurai, Prai-tepui, Arumá-tepui, Sororopán, Pavi-tepui, Uona-tepui, and others.

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Fig. 1 – Typical Kamarakoto Settlement.
Uruyén seen from the east. In the foreground is the edge of a forest, in which farm clearings are made. Beyond the buildings of Uruyén is the Aichá River, flowing from left to right. The trees in the right background follow the Yuruán, the confluence of which with the Aichá (white with reflected light on the water), is seen to the right. In the left background is the upper end of the Kamarata Valley, with its various small sabanas, and in the right background above the sabanas are the two lower terraces of Auyán-tepúi.

[p.107]

LAND AND PEOPLE

Region Inhabited

361 A Kamarakoto Indian requires three things for a place of habitation: (1) An open space, a sabana of larger or smaller size, for his actual dwelling, (2) a perennial stream of water, preferably one large enough for swimming and fishing but at least one that assures a year-round water supply, and (3) a forest in the edge of which to make his farm clearings, with wild plant food, timber, and hunting as secondary considerations. For reasons mainly psychological, he very strongly prefers not to live in a forest even though his way of life requires living near one. He is a sabana Indian, not a forest Indian. This 361 103 is illustrated by the case of Juan José and his family, who formerly lived in Uruyén. A few years ago he moved a short distance to the south of there, to a place called Orná, and built a new house in relatively open summer forest. After brief residence there he moved again, retaining his farm-patch at Orua, but building his house at Alenïba (alewïba) where there is a small sabana and his dwelling is out in the open.

13 These requirements have caused the concentration of Kamarakoto population around the southern, eastern, and northeastern sides of Auyán-tepúi where there are broad valleys. Their bottoms are mainly open and grassy, a succession of sabanas, and through them flow perennial streams joined by numerous tributaries with clear, healthful water and well stocked with fish. These sabanas are bounded by forests and the whole region is ideal for the Kamarakoto way of life.

133 The Indians themselves think of this region as divided into four continuous 103 but geographically separable areas. First is Kamarata, properly speaking, 823 which is the valley south of Auyán-tepúi, between it and Ennarapaimá-tepúi, 96 drained by the Aicha River and its numerous small tributaries. Directly east of this is Akanamuinta, a broad, open area southeast of Auyán-tepúi, including

96 [see foot note on p. 318, category 116 – Analyst]

the extreme lower course of the Aichá and part of the Akanán River around the mouth of the Aichá, which is tributary to the Akanán. The third area is the lower valley of the Akanán, east of Auyán-tepúi, between Akanamuintá and the confluence of the Akanán with the Karao, and the fourth is formed by sabanas bordering the Karao near this confluence, northeast of Auyán-tepúi.

As the name implies, Kamarata ("the place Kamara") is traditionally the home of the Kamarakotos ("the people of Kamara"). At present Uruyén, which is approximately in the middle of Kamarata, is the most western inhabited place in that valley. The upper, western end of the valley, at least as suitable for habitation, is now completely uninhabited. The Indians say that it was densely inhabited until recently and this is obviously true since abandoned farm patches can be seen there and traces of houses.[97] Many of the people are said to have died from fever or spirit-possession and the rest moved away. Now there are only four inhabited places considered as in Kamarata (one of which, Aleuiba, alewi:ba, is outside the valley proper), and the center of population is in the lower Akanán valley, where approximately half of this "central group" of Kamarakotos live.

The inhabited area and the tribe itself are well-defined to the north and to the east. No Kamarakotos live north of the Karao valley where there begins an enormous stretch of forest virtually unbroken by sabanas and therefore uninhabitable to these Indians. To the east no one lives more than half a day's travel east of the Akanán, where another lesser stretch of forest separates this region from the northern part of the Gran Sabana.

To the west and southwest, however, the boundaries of the tribe are extremely vague. Kamarata is here well-defined by mountains and forests, but at no great distance beyond these in the valleys of the Caroni and its tributaries there are sabanas which are inhabited by Indians indistinguishable from the Kamarakotos. The Indians themselves do not know how many of these people there are and are quite undecided as to whether they should be called Kamarakotos or not. Unlike what may be called the central group, in the Aichá, Akanán and Karao valleys, these Indians are not in constant touch with each other or with the nuclear group, and the authority over them claimed by the cacique is purely nominal as he does not really know who most of them are or where they live. In general they are thus more isolated and are less affected by the so-called civilizing influences centering within the nuclear group. They do frequently visit Kamarata to trade, visit, dance, and drink and are treated not quite as members of the family but still not as foreigners or outsiders. Their speech does not differ perceptibly from that of the central group. Some of them call themselves Kamarakotos, but generally they are called Arekunas by the central Kamarakotos. Except for the more attenuated influence on them of the recent expeditions, their culture is identical with that of the central group. I have seen enough of them to verify these statements, but the present

97 [see footnote on p. 318, category 11b - Analyst]

Uruyén is located on a small, flat sabana, the Uruyén-tai, in the middle of Kamarakoto on the south side of the Aichá River. The sabana is a terrace, which breaks down abruptly about two meters to the low-water level of the river and the buildings are near the edge of this terrace, above normal high-water. The Yuruán, a perennial tributary flowing from Auyán-tepúi, joins the Aicha at Uruyén on the opposite side. Above this, on the Uruyén side, there is an embayment in the terrace, apparently an old meander of the Aichá, which formerly held a deep pool of water in which uruyi fish were common. This had some influence in locating habitations here and gave the name Uruyén to the site. The uruyis have all been killed off at this locality and the pool is now a mere marsh at low-water, although flooded in the rainy season, but the other advantages of the site cause continued occupation. A short distance from Uruyén to the south and to the east there are forests and the farm patches are made in these. The site has been occupied since before the memory of living men and there are traces of older dwellings that have been destroyed.

There are now seven buildings standing at Uruyén, but two of them are completely unused. The nature of the buildings may be tabulated as follows:

Type of building	Material: Roof	Material: Walls	Use
A. Elongate: parapan.	kunwada-yarę.	maripada-yarę.	Principal dwelling. Reyes and family.
B. Rectangular shelter: wata-imedapun.	kunwada-yarę.	(none)	Work-house for A.
C. Circular: waipa.	kunwada-yarę.	maripada-yarę.	Partly abandoned and in disrepair but used as a work-house for B and for visitors.
D. Elongate: parapan.	kunwada-yarę.	mud (non).	Dwelling, Claudio and family.
E. Rectangular, with walls, "calabozo": wata-timeakęn.	kunwada-yarę.	mud (non).	Used as a "calabozo" in the rainy season and for visitors.

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- Fig. 9 — Kamara[illegible]o Dwelling.

The east end of Building A at Uruyén (see Map, Fig. 11) is seen to the left, a parapan essentially like that in Figs. 6-8. To the right is a corner of Building B, the work shelter belonging to this dwelling. A fishtrap hangs from its eaves.

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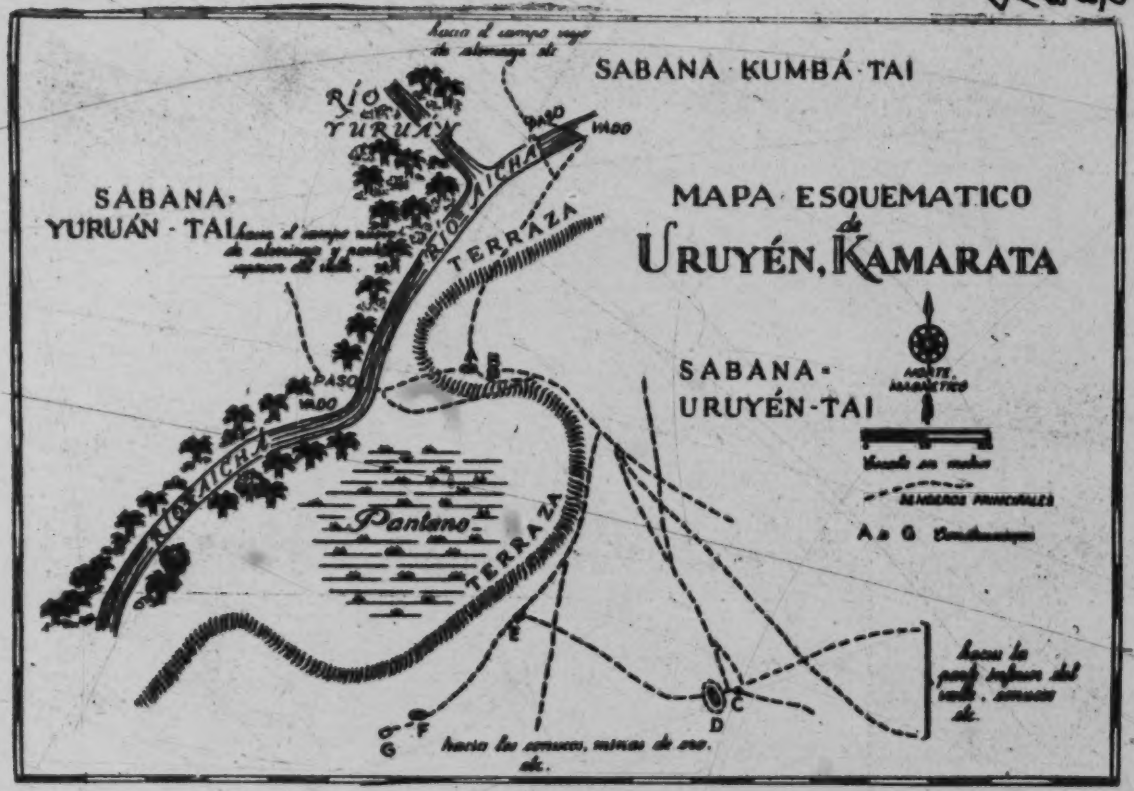

Fig. 11 - Kamarakoto Settlement.
Sketch map of Uruyén. A - G, buildings, see descriptions in text.

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Fig. 12 — Kamarakoto Settlement.

Uruyén from the north. In the foreground is the edge of the Kumbá-tai, (on which the old air field was located). The moriche palms are growing on the swampy lower level between this and the Aichá River. Beyond the river, on a dry terrace, is the Uruyén-tai and Uruyén, the buildings of which can be dimly seen. The low, forest-covered hills beyond Uruyén are on igneous rock and against the horizon to the right is the east end of Enuarapaimá-tepui.

534 171 Stamping tubes — Not seen, but said to occur. They are known from the Taulepánes and Makuchis.

Friction idiophone of tortoise shell — Occurs among the Makuchis, but probably not among Arekunas.

Humming top — Known among Taulepánes.

The following important South American instruments seem surely to be unknown to the Kamarakotos or their closest allies, a negative distributional fact of some interest:

Hollow log drum
Metal jingle rattles and bells
Kettledrum
Tubular drum
Cordophones, in general, especially the "musical bow"
Bullroarer
Shell trumpet
Pottery instruments in general: rattles, trumpets, flutes, etc.
Complex trumpets
Clarinets[164]
Globular flutes
Notched flutes (quenas)
Flutes with attached ducts
Panpipes[165]

534 177 174 With the exception of the drum, which may be introduced and does show some (indirect) European influence, and the cow-horn trumpet which does not really belong in a list of musical instruments, the simple repertory of Kamarakoto instruments is strictly aboriginal and must nearly represent the pre-Columbian musical culture of this general region.

Transportation

484 [34] [628] [427] Although with fixed abodes and in no sense nomadic, the Kamarakotos are not sedentary. Within the group, they are in constant motion, visiting each other for dances and drinking parties, for hunting and fishing, for trading, or simply for variety. Individuals and small groups also make long journeys, mainly for trading, and they have explored almost all of southeastern Venezuela, from the last civilized settlements to the north to, and quite possibly beyond, the British and Brazilian borders to the east and south and well beyond the Caroní to the west.

484 501 These journeys are almost exclusively by land. Unlike the island and coastal Caribs, the Kamarakotos use canoes mostly as an adjunct rather than as the main means of travel. We frequently met Indians who had walked long

164, 165 [see footnotes on pp. 326-27, category 116 - Analyst]

754 all, in human guise, are recognized as being supernatural beings and not really
776 human. Others are spirits that can materialize in almost any form, and still others are wholly invisible and formless supernatural beings or even represent a supernatural influence that is hardly thought of as possessing individuality or personality. Even these indefinite distinctions hardly seem to be very clear-
771 ly present in the Indian mind. In a broader sense, kanaima is the evil princi-
778 ple of the universe and its manifestations are endlessly protean and essentially indefinable, an idea approaching the Polynesian mana (see Karsten's discussion, which, however, does not include an explicit understanding of more specific aspects of Carib kanaima).

778 Anything unexpected, a noise, a light, a branch falling, an unusual bird,
781 a sudden shadow, may be greeted with the cry of "kanaima," a word that is
822 heard constantly on Indian lips, both jokingly and fearfully. In general anything that startles them and that is not immediately explicable by some normal and expected cause is kanaima, and this is obviously related to their real fear of being startled and to their efforts to avoid startling others.

778 Even this does not exhaust the aspects of kanaima, for it includes true
754 spirit-possession. Kanaima, or a kanaima, may enter the body of a victim and remain there, notably in the chest, causing fever and eventual death unless exorcized.

755 This spirit-possession is essentially related to the duties of the piache in averting the effects of kanaimaton, for medically his most important role is that of exorcist. Fortunately no case occurred during our stay, but the general
[274] procedure was reliably outlined to me by Indian eye-witnesses. The piache makes an infusion of green tobacco in water and snuffs this until he is thoroughly "drunk." He then gives a great leap into the air and disappears. Informants have no idea where he goes, but this is always done inside a house at night with the fires low or extinguished, and one can assume that he somehow climbs in-
[352] to the rafters. After a time he reappears and sits on his bench. This bench,
[532] called murei, is unlike the ordinary bench, aponoi?, being higher and carved into animal form (Fig. 76). He holds in his hands sticks and rolls of leaves and beats time on the ground with these while he sings.[174] Soon the piache is surrounded by a ring of light. My witnesses said that this was not visible to them but only to the piache, who presumably told them that it was there. Then the kanaima appears standing on the chest of his victim and is also visible only to the piache, who asks the kanaima to abandon his prey. The kanaima's reply is told to the sufferer and if it is affirmative recovery follows within two days. If it is negative, the patient inevitably dies.

754 The Kamarakotos believe that kanaimaton have now been fairly well cleared out around Kamarata by the piaches, but that some still invade the
[824] region and that they are still common in the Gran Sabana. The favorite haunts
[361] of kanaimaton, at least around Kamarata, are the forests and this is the

174 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 - Analysis]

754 824 361 principal reason why Kamarakotos are very reluctant to build houses in the forests and hesitant about traversing them, although they do so not infrequently.

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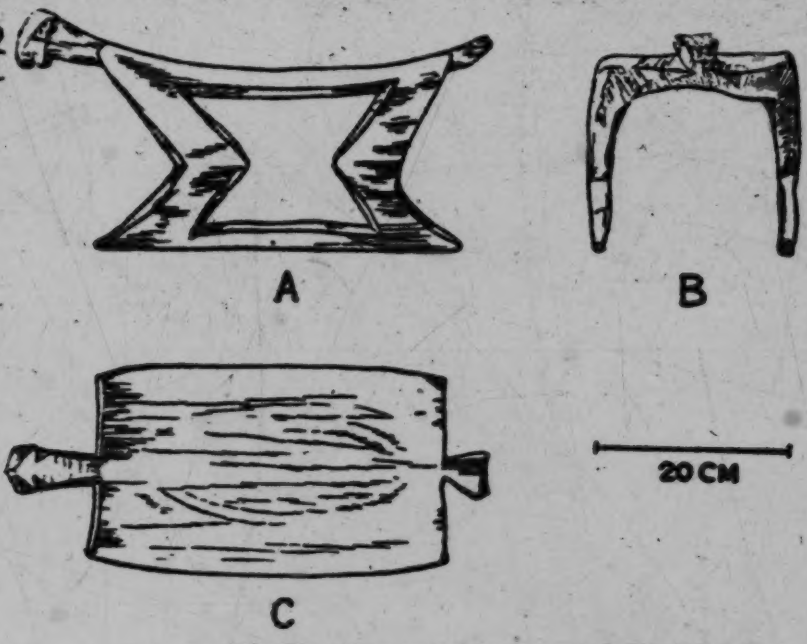

Fig. 76 — Kamarakoto Piache's Bench.
A typical murei, hewn from a single block of wood.

754 Although the kanaimaton play an important role as the theoretical instigators of physical diseases, it is also certain that belief in them produces serious and even mortal illnesses which are wholly psychic in origin. An Indian who is physically perfectly well sometimes believes that he has been attacked by a kanaima, lies down in his hammock, and refuses to rise or to eat, lapsing into a completely listless state, withdrawing into himself, paying no attention to his surroundings, and often developing a fever. If the kanaima is not successfully exorcized, the victim will die of this primarily psychic (but of course quite real) ailment just as surely as if it were primarily physical.

754 797 1147 The following is not repeated as a story that I believe, for I find the alleged act of the priest quite incredible, but as one that the Kamarakotos believe and that casts a little further light on this difficult subject. They informed me that a mission priest stationed with a related tribe one day sent an Indian boy alone to an isolated conuco in the forest and then slipped around by another way and hid there. When the boy arrived, the priest shouted without showing himself. This was a mortal attack on the boy with the priest acting as kanaima

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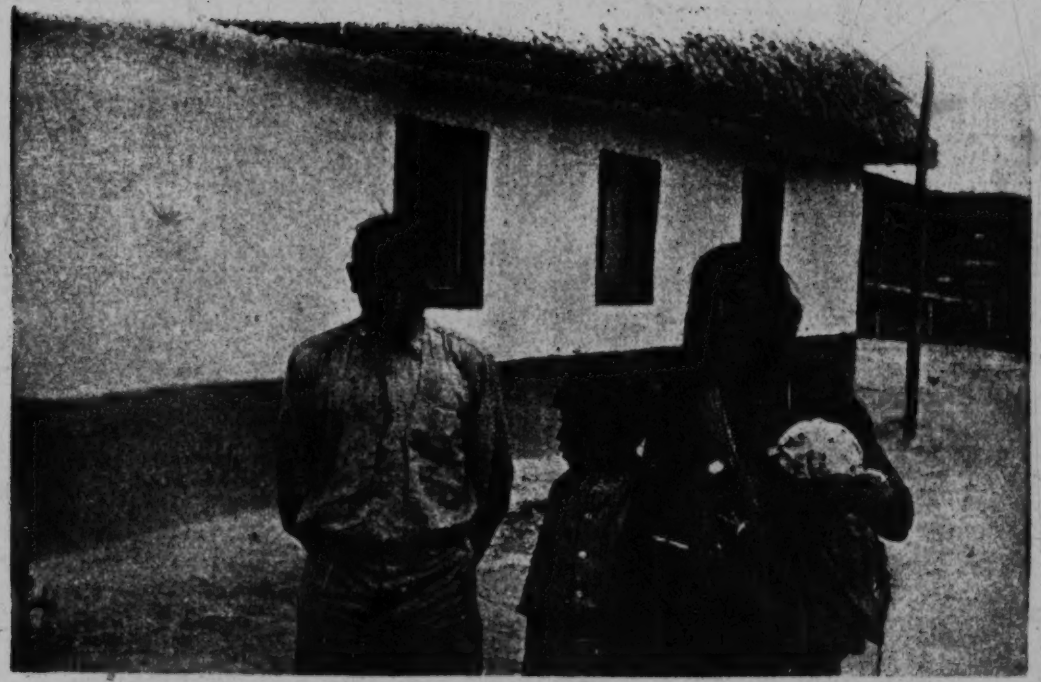

Fig. 96 — Taurepán Family.

No. 17 (Taurepán) and his wife No. 18 (T.) with two of their three living and three dead children. They live on the headwaters of the Kukenán near Roroimá. Note wooden pin in woman's lower lip.

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Fig. 98 — Taurepán Family.
No. 2, his wife, No. 4, and their only child. They live on the Kukenán near Santa Elena.

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With regard to the Casapare of the Urariçuera River, we have the data supplied us by Koch-Grünberg (1923, pp. 284-319), and a comparison of his "Shirishana" vocabulary with the "Shirishana" vocabulary of Armellada and Matallana (1942, pp. 101-108) gives us the impression that both are very much alike, but differ greatly from the Sanemá family (cf. glotto-chronological sketch see p. 49 /). In spite of the fact that they now occupy adjacent geographic zones, we prefer to make a clear distinction in the literature between the "Shirishana" (Casapare) and "Guaharibo" (Sanemá), considering them as two different subtribes of the Yanoama tribe. According to their linguistic separation, they represent, in fact, the two extreme poles of maximum distance (18).

18. Note that this does not mean that we also continue with the old nomenclature, but rather that the name "Shirishana" of the literature corresponds to the Casapare subtribe, and the name "Guaharibo" to the Sanemá subtribe, of this work.

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From their center of distribution in Brazil, the Casapare harassed their neighbors, the Pemón and the Makiritare, with continuous raiding from the time that the latter arrived at the northern slope of the Serranía. It seems that the Taurepán (Pemón) were never able to establish a pueblo farther west than the eastern point of Maraca Island on the Urariçuera and that the Makiritare maintained their advanced posts at the cost of great losses and sacrifices, until finally they were forced to abandon them in the face of the constant threat and the imminent danger of losing their lives.

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The Makiritare began to lose ground at least some 120 years ago, when the Yanoama killed a number of Makiritare Indians (Schomburgk, 1841, pp. 437-8, 444), and it would seem that at the present time Tarakuñiña on the upper Yararejuri is the last Makiritare stronghold south of the Serranía.